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ABSTRACT

This set of three papers is an account of the Finnish approach to mass media education and to the research orientation which instigated it. "From Mass Media to Mass Consciousness; Current Thinking in Scandinavia" provides a research orientation, presents several examples of research projects, and lists central theoretical assumptions that underlie the orientation and constitute current thinking in Finland. "Education, Mass Communication, Cultural Process" is a reanalysis of educational philosophy. It suggests that: (1) the problems of the mass media are in filling the information needs of the population; (2) the content of mass media education should facilitate a citizen's awareness of his own needs, personally and the larger societal context; and (3) educational and broadcasting policies should be better coordinated. "Why Mass Media Education is Needed in Schools?" presents arguments for the creation of mass media education. It emphasizes that developments in the field of information technology have changed the nature and importance of both information and communication and made mass media education necessary in school curriculums. References follow each paper. (DAG)

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APPROACHING MASS MEDIA EDUCATION THROUGH COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Yrjö Littunen
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Sirkka Minkkinen
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Kaarle Nordenstreng
From Mass Media to Mass Consciousness;
Current Thinking in Scandinavia 33

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Preface

This set of papers, although born separately, purports to give a clustered if not systematic account of the Finnish approach to what is being coined mass media education and to the research orientation which instigated it.

In terms of time sequence, the proper order of these papers should be reversed: the research orientation (as appraised by Kaarle Nordenstreng in his paper) forms in fact the intellectual background both for the reanalysis of educational philosophy (as outlined in Yrjö Littunen's paper) and for the actual creation of mass media education (Sirkka Minkkinen).

However, assuming the continuous dialectic between theory and praxis, research should put its weight on approaching the problems of tomorrow. This is particularly important today when the forces of communication market and technology in western societies are about to take over the steering wheel from the hands of democratic bodies that used to have some say on broadcasting systems at least in most of western Europe.

The first two papers by Littunen and Minkkinen were presented at a seminar on mass media education and research in Finland organised in London by British Film Institute. Nordenstreng's paper has been written for a forthcoming reader and is included here as preliminary version.

Tampere, October 1974

Yrjö Littunen

Sirkka Minkkinen

Kaarle Nordenstreng

YRJÖ LITTUNEN:

EDUCATION, MASS COMMUNICATION, CULTURAL PROCESS

From liberal education to consciousness industry

The western tradition of liberal education did struggle through centuries in spite of its basic inner contradictions: its humanistic ideals centered around the individual, its neglect of belonging and lack of solidarity with the group and with society at large. But structural changes in politico-economic systems and technological facilities have rendered the weakness of liberalism unbearable. Using a light oversimplification we might say that the same economic forces that created liberal education are now at a later stage killing it.

Liberalism, basically in economy and consequently in culture, is based on free competition of individuals and groups. This involves darwinistic competition between men, material products, as well as intellectual products such as books, films and educational aids.

It has always been assumed that as with the manufacture of material products, also in the cultural market the customers will choose the best - and as the publishers compete with books or films the best book, the best film, and ultimately the best idea wins. It has become obvious by now that this is not true. In the cultural market a low-quality cultural product can often gain attention and popular support grossly beyond what it seems to deserve.

The recent development of modern advertising and marketing techniques has accentuated the fundamental conflict between economic liberalism, or capitalism, and the humanistic ideals of liberal education. As modern communication technology, efficient marketing and the principle of commercial competition had their combined effect on book publishing, the press and the electronic media, traditional cultural production was transformed into what Hans Magnus Enzenzberger calls the "consciousness industry", where the winners are not

the best intellectual products but, instead, the best-marketed, the best-processed, or the best financed products. In a Review of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, Education and Culture, number 24, 1974 the present power of the commercial mass media is described by L. Geminard, representative at the ministry of education in France, as follows:

> It has become a commonplace to remark that in a changing consumer society (even though small islands of poverty and under-development remain in Europe) essentially driven by the profit motive, the profit motive, the profusion of information leads to a form of escalation similar to the phenomenon of sated individuals who demand ever more highly spiced foods to eat. The point at which the mode of presentation of information creates an event is frequently passed in the mass dailies and television. --- Like spectators in a stadium we can, thanks to modern communications, watch to our heart's content a few "athletes" of thought or action without ourselves being urged to make to any sustained effort to surpass our immediate capacities in our own work or leisure.

But is not the level of education high enough to afford the citizens sufficient intellectual resources to enable them to choose between the products of the consciousness industry, to observe differences between the true and the fake in cultural products? A difficult question to answer. But it seems possible that the sophistication of the commercial or political marketing skills and resources expand faster than modern education can cope. In fact some specialists in modern education maintain that "powerful stimuli connected with the considerable growth of information media give young people less appetite" for learning although they may develop adult reflexes and demands earlier (Barre 1974).

Such trends are difficult to study systematically, but there is no doubt that the consciousness industry has increased its powers. It is estimated that the information industry (mass media, advertising, data processing, public relations) is the fastest growing industry in the western industrialized countries. The informational sector is calculated to expand at the rate of 10 % annually, while expansion in other sectors may amount to half of that. With material investments included (such as telecommunication cables, satellites, data processing machines, printing machinery and electronic mass media) all information production and distribution amounted already in 1958 to as

much as 29 % of the gross national product of the United States (Parker 1973). Even if the information industry in most industrialized countries is much behind the United States, the trends are similar.

In industrialized countries the average time consumed for mass media, according to a number of studies, ranges for television alone from two to four hours daily. Even at the lower end of this scale, watching television, listening to the radio, reading papers and magazines (or sometimes books), and attending the cinema altogether comprise the largest single time block spent in typical urban leisure.

This observation, by now a commonplace, was a major activator for the new type of mass media research as well as, subsequently, mass media policy development, educational approach included, that occurred in the late 1960's in a handful of industrialized countries.

Activation of societally oriented mass communication research is now a fact in many countries in Europe, America and Asia. The earliest development, however, was limited to a few centers of communications research (in Great Britain, France, Germany, Finland, somewhat in the United States, analyses of media content innovations /such as Challenge for Change in Canada since 1967 (Todd 1971-72)/, or critical appraisals of the role of modern mass media in serving commercial or political persuasion (for example The Hidden Persuaders by Vance Packard).

The structural and processual analyses of mass media and other information institutions became important instigators for a reappraisal of information institutions in the broad societal context.[1]

The main results of this reappraisal of information institutions were:

1. The modern electronic media are having an effect on the audience, ultimately on the whole of culture, much more powerful than that

[1] Sample items from this long list might include e.g. Halloran 1964; Schiller 1969; Heyden 1969; Nordenstreng 1968.

of any earlier means of communication. People in industrialized nations are beginning to spend a very substantial part of their free time[2] watching television with a substantial passivising effect on their life.

2. The free-market flow of pictures and words through modern electronic media does not result in a significant widening or deepening of knowledge in the audiences. Both experimental (McQuail 1967) and intersocietal (Littunen 1968) comparisons indicate no significant change in information level among the TV-audiences.

3. The cultural inefficiency of the modern electronic media could be perceived as a result of the program policies of television networks throughout the western world; characterized by standard entertainment with standard cultural content, designed to maximise the sizes of audiences.[3]

4. While the bulk of program production shown in television in the western countries is commercially produced, it corresponds, in principle, to the liberal goals of education. The results, however, are in complete contrast with these goals: increased cultural passivity, semi-illiteracy, consumerism, hard material competition instead of social skills and solidarity between men.[4]

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[2] According to an international study of twelve nations, capitalist and socialist, 1 1/2 hours a day, 10 hours a week are being spent watching television (Szalai 1973).

[3] Subsequent international comprasisons (Nordenstreng and Varis 1974) show that in the wealthy West-European countries 40-60 per cent of the foreign programmes on television have been produced in the United States. The United States exports probably about 150 000 program hours annually; the world's next biggest exporter, the United Kingdom, exports 20 000 hours of TV-programmes annually.

[4] That this critical appraisal is based on a widespread expert interpretation of trend data is documented, for instance, by public statements at the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Europe (Eurocult) in 1972. In Arc et Senans (France) some twenty western European and American experts invited by the French Ministry of Culture to prepare this conference published a statement expressing concern over the inefficiency of the school system, of the supersaturation caused by the mass media and other cultural industries which are "activated by a profit motive and market forces" the individual lacks the means to cope with: "once he had a mind of his own; now he is becoming a mere target for information".

New approaches to education, mass media

During the late 1960's and early 1970's three different new approaches emerged in the western world in the effort to overcome the crisis actualized in education and popular culture during the first decade of the television age. All of the three types of approach are today's products: they are for the most part topics of discussion in many countries, planned in some others, but as yet actually operative in only a few areas.

The first approach, or set of approaches, is concerned with reorganizing the cultural insitutions, the second with activating the educational content of mass media and other cultural institutions, while the third is to provide citizens with intellectual tools which could enable them to use mass media and other channels of culture for their own benefit.

The first two approaches, important and interesting as they are, lie outside the present topic. To outline the background, we might remind ourselves briefly that a reorganization of cultural institutions is in process, or about to begin, in several western European countries. The models for reorganization, and the basic assumptions or ideologies behind them, vary quite considerably. In some countries, like France most recently, the diagnosis is: too much concentration, too little liberalism, and the cure: breaking the monolithic organizations. In some other countries, like Sweden, with fresh evidence on breaking a centralized organizational set-up (two freely competing TV-networks) the diagnosis is quite the opposite, and so is the cure: to get away from the trend towards light entertainment caused by the network competition for "customers" (audience statistics), the Swedes are considering letting production units compete (in quality) while the distribution units, the networks, become cordinated.

The idea of organizational/geographical decentralization has also been used for the political purposes of those who have vested interests in "free" and "decentralized" commercial control of mass media.

The approach of activating educational content in mass media ranges from the Open University to various types of "access" programs, where the citizens, provided with an opportunity to use means of cultural production (such as TV-studios or film cameras) are supposedly able to create program material in accordance with their own informational needs. Also this good cause serves quite different political purposes, particularly those of business organizations which look forward to reaching free access program time they could get analogically with any "citizen groups".

Mass media education: the Finnish case

Of the different approaches to the educational crisis created by new developments in mass media, there is little search for solutions by giving the citizens education, intellectual tools, to cope with the challenges. In Europe Finland has introduced mass media education as a systematic component in the school curriculum in early 1970's. Certainly the educational use of television, radio and other mass media is common throughout the industrialized world; but TV or radio channels are not being used for content evaluation of the information flows received through the 300 million TV screens around the globe by audiences numbering 1 billion people.

The factors that have contributed to this educational innovation in Finland stem from changes in the cultural climate in the middle of the 1960's. The emerging politico-cultural liberation, national and international, has generated the rise of a new orientation within several cultural institutions, particularly in broadcasting and in school education, but to some extent also in various forms of art and science, specifically the social sciences.[5]

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[5] See e.g. Littunen and Nordenstreng 1974, 24-31. See also other contributions in the same volume.

The contents of Finnish mass media education are based on the principle of society-centredness. This involves a dissociation from the traditional esthetic "film education" as well as from the technologically oriented audio-visual training. School pupils as well as, subsequently, active adult citizens naturally need an understanding of esthetic values and also need training in the use of film equipment, but all this is subordinated to a structural and processual understanding of the role of communication and mass media in society.

The societal orientation is introduced by an outline of historical processes, beginning from traditional pre-agrarian societies to agrarian and industrial stages of economic development. Against this setting the role of communication at different stages of economic and political development is analysed.

The historical perspective is followed by analyses of communication systems in modern society, where technological development brings about an increasing need for information transmission. As mass media, at this stage of development, are being used to a growing extent as steering instruments, the problem of control in communication institutions becomes exceedingly important. Two types of ownership and control of the mass media are discussed: commercial and public control. Commercial control is based on market forces, on the sale of messages. Public control may emerge in non-parliamentary or in parliamentary modes. The former is likely to be associated with what may be called confessional mass communication, whereas the parliamentary form of public control is, under certain conditions, prerequisite for what the Finnish media sociologists call "informational mass communication".[6]

The problems of content, reception and impact are discussed in relation to the actual social reality citizens are facing in present economic and political conditions. Throughout the presentation the process seeks to establish connections from everyday reality to society at large as well as to the world.

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[6] See Kaarle Nordenstreng (ed.) Informational Mass Communication. Helsinki 1974, especially chapters 1 and 11.

Intellectual tools?

No systematic analyses concerning the impact of Finnish mass media education are as yet available. The question remains open as to the extent which the educational content outlined above actually does give intellectual working tools for citizens of the electronic age.

The ultimate content criteria for mass media education are the needs and interests of the citizens. This principle, theoretical and ideological at the same time, is the heart of the matter in all cultural policy which, again, is a part of all goal-setting in society. Both in democratic goal-setting and in action toward reaching the goals the citizens need, individually and collectively, a complex set of intellectual and social resources, intellectual tools based on democratic and humanistic values.

As a concrete guiding-line, however, it requires specification which needs and interests of which citizen groups and social classes are given priority. Needs in our societies are altogether unattainable independent of each other. Certain very basic needs and interests may be common to all, but as there is a scarcity of resources interest conflicts are inevitable: control and ownership of material production is the conflict pattern that determines not only the interest antagonism between rich and poor in the material sense but also between privileged and underpriviledged in cultural welfare.

This means that under conditions of intra-societal interest conflicts mass media education cannot be designed to satisfy the interests of all citizens equally. Equal service in education leads to similar conceptual difficulties as an attempt to give equal freedom to everybody, like freedom to murder and freedom to be murdered, freedom to use one's own capital for land speculation and freedom to pay double or triple prices for a flat. In terms of education there is abundant research evidence as to the way how educational level, prevalent in the low-income occupational groups, gives drastically different, and drastically fewer possibilities to receive and use the messages transmitted through communication channels than does the educational level typical of the middle and upper income groups.

For this well-known reason also mass media education based on the idea of equal service to all might, at its best, raise the general level but leave the initial differences intact. The result might even be accentuated inequality, since persons with initially high educational background are also subsequently superior in utilizing new educational impulses, as compared with persons with low educational training.

To overcome this cumulative effect of cultural training new educational services should be designed to fit the needs and interests of low-education groups.

Priority in favor of the less educated is an accepted principle in some fields of education, particularly adult education, including its strong worker-education movement in many European countries. But these traditions have had hardly any impact on school education where both form (language) and content either overtly or indirectly reflect bourgeois values and interests. This is emphasized by the fact that most teachers as well as textbook writers throughout the western history of education are alien if not hostile to the working class culture and the underdog point of view. Consequently, empirical studies show that almost any cultural activity is both less extensive and less intensive among the working class than among the bourgeoisie.

However, there are exceptions, and these exceptions are important in an analysis of the alternatives for the future in the western cultures. The modern mass media are for the most part equally extensively attended by the working class as by other audience groups. In some types of programs working class attendance is even higher than that of any other groups. These program types are not "educational" in the traditional sense. They are mainly light entertainment, shows, serials, and pop music.

Although these program types are not educational they do have educational effects. This is more than a triviality in the search for alternative mass media education.

A whole sector of communication research has been devoted to analyzing uses and gratifications in mass media. It seems empirically well-established that people themselves perceive their mass media needs in three different categories: (1) the utility gratifications (getting information for solving immediate, everyday problems, or getting matters of talk about), (2) diversion gratifications (entertainment, relaxation, getting away from daily worries), (3) orientation gratifications (information for solving larger e.g. societal problems or widening one's world-view).[7]

These three categories are crude clusters, based on factor analysis of intercorrelations between program preferences as indicated by TV-viewers and radio listeners in interviews. But even with the reservations necessary in connection with surface choices between program items that happen to be available, these preference clusters must somewhat reflect the basic cultural and informational needs of the larger population groups.

Assuming this, the lesson for mass media education would seem to be: without special training large audience groups are vulnerable to powerful manipulation through the television screen. Commercial entertainment hits the viewer's brain and heart simultaneously at all three basic need levels: apparently the media can be the message (as Marshall McLuhan obscurely put it) so that any emotionally loaded princess story in colour technology can serve both informational and diversion needs in mass culture. That these needs are met in a superficial, often dishonest way, distorting diversion into mental escape and informational utility into soap opera, is what transforms innocent entertainment into commercial manipulation.[8]

What can be done?

To sum up, let us restate some of the central goals for mass media education in today's world of elctronic media technology.

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[7] See e.g. Pietilä 1974

[8] Similar manipulation is naturally not limited to the commercial sector. Political manipulation of this kind is, however, not as yet fully developed. There are already examples of a skilful combination of emotional-entertaining and utilistic-informative aspects in political persuasion.

(1) The central problems of mass media education are not in esthetic or audio-visual skills but in the informational needs of large population sectors which also affect the systemic development of democracy in modern industrialized societies.

(2) The content of mass media education should be designed to facilitate the citizen's awareness of his own needs and interests both in everyday life situations as well as in the larger societal context. To accomplish this it is important to analyse the control structure of the present communication channels as well as the whole cultural industry.

(3) The success of any mass media education is limited to the scope of national cultural policy in general, most immediately the program policy of broadcasting companies. Unless a cordinated effort between educational and broadcasting policies is viable, meaningful results can hardly be expected in improving the cultural uses of mass media.

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SIRKKA MINKKINEN:

WHY MASS MEDIA EDUCATION IS NEEDED IN SCHOOLS?

1. INTRODUCTION

There have been four major breakthroughs in the history of communications. The first and decisive breakthrough took place at the inception of spoken language, when people learned to communicate information and thoughts to each other by signals. This happened long before the beginning of recorded history, and thus we have no specific information about the actual processes which led to the use of spoken language.

The second major breakthrough in communication began with the use of written characters and symbols to record information. The art of writing was invented in about 2,500 - 2,000 B.C. This made it possible to transmit messages from one person to another in a precise form, it made it possible to preserve certain regulations and information, and above all it made it possible to transmit a much more exact kind of information to subsequent generations than the earlier simple verbal communication had allowed. At the same time it freed man's mental capacity for other activities, since the remembrance of certain matters no longer unnecessarily burdened man's thinking.

The third major breakthrough came with the invention of printing in Europe in the 15th century. This allowed messages to be duplicated in larger printings. It took a long time, however, until the 18th - 19th centuries, before Gutenberg's technique was implemented for really large-scale communication. The invention of films and radio at the beginning of the 20th century complemented and extended the possibilities for communication. The real breakthrough in mass communication media took place in the shift of the century, and development has been rapid ever since.

The fourth major breakthrough in communicatior is a direct continuation of the previous phase, but because it contains many special features it is necessary to set it apart in the history of communications as a distinct and separate phase. As a result of the scientific-technological revolution, particularly since the second world war, there have been tremendous developments in the the field of information technology, in both communication tehcnology and com-

puters. This has led to a fundamental change in the nature and the importance of both information and communication.

This paper will endeavour to describe the special features in the last phase, which make it advisable, even necessary, to have mass media education included in the school curriculums. The definition of these special features can also be seen as the first stage of a materialistic analysis which will form the conceptual roots of a mass media education programme.

The terms 'information' and 'communication' are used in this paper in a very wide sense to cover all messages transmitted by the various media - radio, TV, press, records and taped cassettes, film, posters and books. Informative material is included together with entertainment and art material, in other words the entire contents of mass media, that is everything aimed at people through mass media.

The analysis, however, is specifically restricted to industrialised countries.

2. THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN EDUCATION AND MASS MEDIA AND INTERRELATION WITH ECONOMIC FACTORS AND MEANS OF PRODUCTION

The Possibilities

Since world war II important changes have taken place in the economy of advanced industrial nations, such as the accelerated growth rate of productivity and economic expansion, as well as significant changes in the economic and occupational structure. This development has not only been confined to industry but involves virtually all fields of production. It is the result of the ever-increasing application of science to all areas of production - science has become a direct productive force.

This should not be taken as simply the re-statement of a self evident fact but to establish the significance of the cognitive dominance of science and technology in our thinking processes and actions which take part in and are responsible for the continuing reproduction of a typology of productive processes.

This phenomenon is called the scientific-technological revolution and some of its characteristic developments are described in the following paragraph.

- The automatisation of production and the increasing role of computers in the decisive control techniques of production, and society as well.

- The vital change in economic structure; as agriculture and forestry become more and more dependent on science and technology, manpower is released from agriculture and placed in other occupational areas.

- The continuous development of information technology, computers and mass media technology, the growing importance of information and personnel, the accelerated pace of the flow of information and subsequently the exposure of information to ever widening segments of the population..

- Growing investments in science and the rapid increase of the number of persons engaged in science.

- Opportunities of altering the natural enviroment and man's biological surroungings and the potential concequences in disturbing the balance of nature.

- Utilisation of new sources of energy, new industrial processes and new raw materials.

As a consequence of the scientific-technological development, the position of information in production and in society has grown manifold in importance.

As science and information assume a central position in raising productivity and in introducing new sources of energy, raw materials and industrial processes, they are also controlling the environmental effects of production, and larger investments are being made in the information field. The processing of information has been enormously facilitated by the introduction of computers, which make it possible to handle complicated calculations and controlling checks as well as the recording and use of this information.

Computers as such and also data banks - archives - also serve communication. Mass media can have speedy access to archive material, background material on events and so on. This speeds up preparatory editorial work and changes the nature of information work. Scientific-technological developments have also made it possible to have a more scientific and factual communication policy than before - the editors have at their disposal all the services needed to base their news and other information messages on as reliable material as possible.

But the questions must be asked - how far and to what effect are these techniques used?

The new communication technology facilitates fast and efficient communication and consequently the communication of information is becoming more and more international in character. The opportunities and responsibilities of the media in imparting new information is considerably greater today than it was earlier, since new information is replaced at a very fast pace, and the information and knowledge learned during schooling become outdated at a fast pace as well.

Many of the above features of the scientific-technological revolution have been characteristic of post-World War II development in Finland as well as other industralised countries. Finland underwent a rapid transformation from an agricultural country full of small farms into an industrial society. During the period between 1950 and 1970 approximately 20 % of labour force moved from employment in agriculture and forestry to other occupations. The result of this was that almost one million people who had earlier made their livelihood in agriculture (ie. those epmloyed in agriculture and forestry plus their families) were forced to change the basic foundation of their lives. The change in economic structure has also resulted in a sharp increase in the number of persons employed in the service sector - their number has approximately doubled since 1950, by half a million persons.

The change in economic structure has led to rapid urbanization, internal migration and in the late 60's, even emigration. Most emigration was directed towards Sweden, where even at this moment there are approximately 300,000 Finnish citizens, driven there by unemployment in Finland.

The automization of production is only in its early stages. It has already been applied to a great extent in the wood processing industry, however. This is Finland's most important export industry and it is very concentrated and requires (needs) a great amount of capital. The number of computers, especially in business, has increased very rapidly. The first computers were introduced in Finland in the mid-60's - now they number several hundred.

The mass media has also spread very quickly in Finland. The total circulation of newspapers has grown in twenty years one and a half times. The number of books has doubled. The number of radio licences has also doubled, so that now they cover the entire population, and television has spread in a little over ten years to more than 80 % of all households.

Furthermore there has been much improvement in the educational opportunities available to people, and in their use of these opportunities. While only one in ten children went as far as secondary school in 1940, the number in the 70's has risen above the 50 % mark - and by 1978 Finland will have completed a transition to a new comprehensive school system which will provide a unified 9 year basic education for all children. Today so many young people pass the final matriculation examination in the Finnish secondary schools that less than half of them can gain entrance into a university or college.

Investments in research have also grown rapidly during the 60's and 70's. The state is at the moment in the process of outlining its policy on science, and various industrial enterprises have been establishing research institutes of their own but the information produced is to a large extent shaped by the intentions of those who designate the areas of research either explicitly or implicitly. The growing importance of information and communication is also reflected in the growing number of people engaged in economy and in the public sector who are working in the field of information.

They, however, make available to the media information which is favourable to their own institution.

The scientific-technological revolution is only beginning in Finland, however. The process of change in the economic structure will continue for some time, information technology is only now being introduced into large-scale use and automation is just taking its first steps.

Possibilities for Education

In the extensive UNESCO report on education, (Learning to Be) it concluded that educational progress is related to economic progress and advancement in production technology. New up-to-date skills and knowledge are required for the development of these productive forces, while on the other hand education will activate and stimulate economic, technological and social progress. The scientific-technological revolution thus places the question of education and training in an entirely new light:

- Science and information become factors immediately affecting production, general welfare and security. Research and development will increase productivity and growth of prosperity. The proportion of jobs requiring special skills will increase, and in addition to special skills extensive general education will be necessary as both society and production processes become more complicated.

- Old occupations will die out as the methods of application change and new approaches appear new occupations will be born. The ability to do one task will not be enough any more, a man must be able to acquire and adopt fresh knowledge and skills and to learn throughout his life. Concequently an extensive and thorough basic education will become ever more important.

- The enviromental control of production methods and the controlled utilisation of natural resources will constitute an essential part of economic activity.

- Together with the increasing complexity of society, the exertion of democratic rights becomes more and more complicated and requires more factual information. People will need information and training in democratic processes so as to prepare them to be able to assume the responsibilities of their own society, and of the whole world, and to be in a position to influence their future structure. Education must also strive to acquaint children with their national culture from many angles and with the cultural heritage of all mankind, so as to allow them to utilise and develop them both. The scientific-technological

development has changed many formerly national problems - such as the use of national resources, pollution, etc., into international problems and therefore the responsibility for the direction of development has become greater. In this situation the need to perceive one's enviroment and the effects of one's actions becomes more emphasised. Consequently there should be more emphasis in education on the study of democracy and the importance of responsibility.

The committee outlining Finland's education policy made an effort to acknowledge the requirements posed by the scientific-technological revolution in the educational field. The implementation of the committee's proposals in school curriculums is still, however, largerly incomplete. Only some of the educational requirements set out by the scientific-technological revolution have been recognised and implemented in the curriculum plan for the new comprehensive school system. Already at the beginning of the 70's subjects are being integrated into more meaningful entities, although the traditional basic pattern of subjects has still been maintained. The committee report emphasised - apart from the continued availability of basic knowledge - a new method of learning the technique of study and the formal features of intellectual education. It also put emphasis on the development of concept formation and the development of the ability to deduce and solve problems, on the ability to evaluate and appraise information, on creative and artistic thinking, and it also emphasised the problems of objectivity and the diversity of communication. A sign of recognition of the scientific-technological revolution is the inclusion of mass media education in the school curriculum.

Mass media have a bearing on three main functions of education:

- Mass media can make new information available, and can help to build fragments of information into larger entities. They can also help to evaluate information - its significance and reliability. They can present the importance of various life and world philosophies in the interpretation and assessment of information.

- Mass media can offer emotional and aesthetic stimuli. They can disseminate information on how people experience certain things like emotions, nature, art objects, other people, human relations, and social and global problems and conflicts. They can also help to analyse aesthetic and emotional experiences.

- Mass media can offer models for action. They can show what course of action should be followed in order to reach certain objectives. They can present different situations and different ways to influence affairs. They can also give information on how people can act to support aims that they have accepted.

How Far do the Media Function in this Way?

Research has shown us that mass media are already in fairly wide use with pre-school children and they constitute one of the most important channels of information acquisition for youths who have finished their schooling. Even during their school years children give as much time to the media as they spend at school, and a great proportion of their information is gained from there. Research also indicates that the use of the media cannot be learned without instruction.

Viewing and Reading Habits

In order to benefit from mass media, one has to learn the "language" - the mode of expression. One has to learn to read before one can use a book or other printed texts. One has to learn to listen in order to use the radio, and in addition to listening, a picture has to be "read" before the television and films can be used. And above all one has to learn to follow the mass media in a concentrated manner. Children receive insufficient guidance in this at home, in fact they probably pick up "wrong" habits in the use of mass media. Studies furthermore show that a large part of the audience lacks concentration in its use of the media, especially of radio and television. Moreover, it is the lightest programmes which attract the largest audiences, and thus the example of adults leads the children into a use of mass media which could be regarded as educationally undesirable. In this way people learn to use the mass media as merely "background noise", not as a means of acquiring information. Therefore it is important to guide children towards adopting proper uses of mass media, to teach them to understand mass media language and to follow them in a concentrated manner in order to acquire both information and entertainment.

The Over-Production of Information

The mass media offer a daily quantity of material which clearly exeeds the audiences's interest or capacity to absorb. The problem today is no longer a lack of information, but the problem is to sift the essential information from the flood of material available. Studies indicate that the audience's use of mass media is rather haphazard. It depends more, for example, on the programming schedules of radio and television, and on the availability and advertising of books and films than on deliberate selection by the audience. An "excessive" use of mass media - for example people leaving the radio or TV on even when there's nothing they consider relevant or interesting being broadcast - is a symptom of audience inability to make conscious choices among various available media materials. Since the number of mass media messages will only grow in the future, it is necessary to instruct children to know their own needs and motives when they select incoming messages, and to be able to choose such mass media messages as best suit their needs.

The Fragmentation of Information

The daily media offer a great deal of sporadic information and superficial experience. The news, for example, is often presented in such a limited form that its right context is not at all self evident. Many serials and comics give only superficial attention to problems which are, nevertheless, very central to education. Studies show that superfluous, loose information material tends to discourage people from sericus perusal of it, since the information is felt to be meaningless and its connection to one's own life and enviroment is not clear. Thus it is important to teach children to place the mass media messages they receive within the larger framework of their knowledge. This ability can be developed, for example, by assimilating current events and news with other instruction and also by discussing examples of mass media output in class.

Beliefs, Attitudes and a "World View"

An ever increasing proportion of the information by which we try to construct our view of the world and try to define our relationship with our world and future flows from the mass media. Mass media constitute the most important channel of information about current affairs, especially when it is a question

of matters beyond the immediate range of one's own experiences. The information disseminated by various mass media on current social and political questions is often contradictory. Different social classes have different views and interpretations of matters. Unless children are given information on how different social attitudes and philosophies of life are reflected in different communication outlets, and unless they are given information regarding the different values upon which various philosophies of life are based, they will become anxious about the contradictory nature of incoming information and will try to uncritically absorb all information which somehow feels right and on the other hand blindly reject all the rest without stopping to examine the criteria for their choice. The child cannot learn to formulate independent opinions unless he first becomes acquainted with the basic moral and philosophical differences behind divergent views and opinions, and thus learns to examine the importance of these differences when interpreting information.

3. THE IMPACT OF THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION ON THE MASS MEDIA IN NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
Or the Capitalist Adaptation of the Possibilities Offered by the Scientific-Technological Revolution

The main features of the scientific-technological revolution are similar in the advanced countries within both of the economic systems, but they differ as to its applications and the impact it has had on people's lives. In the capitalist (free market) countries, where the economy operates on the so-called free enterprise system and comprehensive national planning is lacking, a number of problems have appeared in the practical application of technological achievements. Economic competition has become ever more intense, and the consequences of this have been periodic unemployment, shortages of workers and growing armies of migrant workers. Pollution has reached global proportions, natural resources are being depleted and economic life is strongly concentrated. This concentration is evident in both location and ownership. Monopolisation has increased and the position of multinational monopolies has become even more powerful. These general trends of development are also apparent in Finnish society. The economy is very concentrated, unemployment was very high in the late 60's and new pollution problems come up daily.

Industrial and Commercial Conglomerates - Implications for the Mass Media

This development toward concentration which has been charactarestic of all productive acitivity has also come about in the production of mass media communications. For instance the number of newspapers is declining at the same time as their total circulation increases. Furthermore, many communications establishments are becoming conglomerates and diversifying their operationsto cover more than one medium of mass communication. The result has been the merging of printed word and electronic communication into large mass media organisations which produce text books, visual aids and educational films, from popular magazines to popular entertainment programmes. Moreover many mass media enterprises have joined the giant corporations, whose range of activities cover the production of all possible goods and materials. The mass media has thus become a part of the multinational conglomerates' range of activities. For example, the biggest British and American multinational communications companies are active in over 20 countries through their ownership of magazines, newspapers and television stations. Large-scale commercial mass media are a profitable business.

Consequently a substantial proportion of the mass media messages which reach the audience in many countries actually originate from without the borders of that country. For example, approximately two thirds of all sound recordings in capitalist countries originate from Britain or the United States. In the western European industrial countries an average of one third of the TV programmes are of foreign origin, and in many developing countries the shortage of economic and intellectual resources has led to a situation where a full 80 % - 90 % of television programmes come from abroad. From the global point of view, the most conspicuous feature in the international flow of information is probably its one-way direction: messages primarily move from the large and rich industrial countries to the smaller industrial countries and developing nations. Another prominent feature here is the relatively large proportion of commercial and entertainment material compared to documentary material.

These tendencies are exemplified by the following features characteristic of Finnish media:

- Concentration, especially evident in the press, publishing, record and film industries.

- An increasing proportion of imported material, which is evident in both ownership (magazines, record industry, film agencies) and in content (magazines, film programmes, records, television programmes). It is also seen in the growing demand for international services from the new agencies, film agencies and article services.

- The prominent role of advertising in almost all media, especially in the press and television.

- A heightneded commercialism, which is reflected in both the growing proportion of advertising in mass communications and in the strengthened position of commercial mass media. Commercialisation has also influenced the contents of mass communications toward the more entertaining and thus better selling. This is especially evident in the magazine press, film agencies, the record industry and partly also in book publishing.

These features in the development of mass media in Finland and other capitalist countries - concentration, commercialism, "multinationalisation", and an ever greater emphasis on entertainment - have led to a state of mass media production which parents, teachers and other educators cannot regard as desirable from an educational point of view. Many claim that the mass media teach children the wrong attitude toward violence, sex, and other moral questions. Many fear that the heavy entertainment content will have a discouraging effect on the character of children's activity. Stereotyped mass entertainment is believed to dull a child's ability to empathise. And finally the mass media are seen to mould the child's - and also the adult's - social and political views and opinions. Thus the mass media are seen to be largerly working against the values which many countries have accepted and set as educational goals in their schools and which UNESCO has endorsed to its member nations.

It seems that the mass media have largerly wasted the new and wider opportunities to disseminate information which have come about as a result of the scientific-cultural revolution. The mass media institutions have elected the role of mass entertainer instead of introducing and presenting new information, encouraging studies and explaining democratic means of influencing things. This judgement cannot of course be made of all mass media - the field is wide and varied and includes a great many responsible persons hard at work spreading serious information. Still, a large and perhaps the most conspicuous section of the mass media in indeed largerly guilty of the criticisms levied at it by educators, critics and researchers of communications.

The fact remains that children are very eager consumers of mass media, especially of light entertainment. The schools cannot ignore the fact. Therefore it is necessary to examine the different types of mass media messages in greater detail - to analyse the problems involved in following them and to find out how these problems can be handled in the schools. Although mass media education in the schools cannot solve the problems which have caused the present state of western mass media, it can at least equip children with the skills and knowledge needed to take a conscious and critical attitude toward mass media products and to demand changes in the prevailing situation.

Specific Problems of the Mass Media Messages

For the purposes of closer examination the field of mass media will be divided into news and documentary messages, entertainment and other fictional messages, and advertisements. Each message group will be examined primarily from the viewpoint of the problems apparent in modern mass media.

News and Documentary Productions

The number and frequency of newsworthy events has grown enormously in recent years. Things are happening every day in national and international politics: fresh results of resent research are made public, wars break out, natural disasters and traffic accidents occur, and so on. The news, however, provide very short and limited accounts of new topics. A great amount of loose and fragmented information is being disseminated, but there is never enough time to analyse it and to connect it into the wider framework of knowledge. A great proportion of news material tends to float unattached and without meaning. The audience best remember those matters even the most insignificant, which touch upon its own range of experience. Children find it even more difficult than adults to understand the relevance of fragmented pieces of news. Therefore training and guidance is required in order to make news relevant within the wider framework of knowledge.

Since a large part of news gathering is a business activity, the sensational and best-selling quotients of these messages become important yardsticks of news value. News material is action oriented, dominated by sensations, news about celebrities, the photogenic value and public curiosity about the event. Important developments which are taking place slowly and quietly easily get shunted aside in the news. Still, the news plays an important role in moulding our attitude toward our world and future. It is necessary for us to become acquainted with news criteria and the working methods of news agencies so that the news would not have an undue and distorting influence upon our view of the near future and world situation.

A large proportion of the news report upon the plans and decisions of our political and economic decision makers - or tell us of their views on topical questions. For this reason the news easily reflects their views and communicate their interpretations of matters as "true". Furthermore, since economists and politicians often use a very difficult and abstract language, it is difficult for the average audience, especially for children, to evaluate their statements. They may then adopt opinions and arguments the background and basis of which is impossible for them to analyse and scrutinise. Therefore it is important to train the children in school to examine how the viewpoints of the interviewed person and the medium itself are presented in news messages. It is likewise important to analyse the viewpoints presented by a medium - whether biased, unbiased, varied or one-sided - and what view of the world forms the basis for this particular viewpoint.

This applies especially to news which has a limited space and time available to it and which has to be prepared in a very short space of time. It often contains insufficient information, oversimplification, and unfounded conclusions. Children in particular, who lack the background information needed to help them evaluate the news, may get an erroneous impression of the matter under presentation, or it may even remain incomprehensible to them. The schools sould pay more attention to the background of the news and guide the children in asking and looking for further information, by means of which they can place the news in its social and political context.

The mass media have in its news and other documentary material put too much emphasis on stating the bare facts. The evaluation of the significance, reliability and usefulness of these facts and the presentation of models and guides to action have been neglected. A passive accumulation of facts will not be of much benefit in the future, however, as the flood of information continues to grow. The important thing then will be to learn to use the facts and to study models of action from only an educational viewpoint. Information material which is not experienced as relevant and useful tends to frustrate and alienate the recipient and to give him a sense of powerlessness.

Entertainment and Other Fictional Messages

A very great proportion of mass media entertainment originates from the big international entertainment producers. Most of this entertainment has been designed and produced for use in many countries, as suitable for a global audience. Thus the entertainment is standardised in many respects: it must not offend anyone. It must be suitable for many different countries, and consequently must not be too closely bound to any one country and its special problems. It must be suitably light and easy, and above all it must be risk-free. As a result the subjects and viewpoints which are covered by multi-

national entertainment have narrowed down to a few, and in many ways production is becoming increasingly more stereotyped. Sex and violence predominate and are marketed with the help of "stars". The stars are also created through these products.

For the above reasons a large proportion of mass media entertainment does not touch the real societies and real problems of today's world at all, nor does it get involved in serious questions of ethics and world philosphy which might bore some of the audience and thus make it less amenable to the advertisements frequently interspersed in the entertainment. For this same reason these entertainment programmes do not run the risk of being too "arty", but use a mode of presentation so familiar and conventional as not to upset even those unured to the lightest of fare.

There is the consequent danger that a great part of mass media does not offer its audience emotional experiences which deal with the matters and problems which are essential to the real life situations and educational requirements of people. An emotional experience, the feeling of sympathy and empathy are, however, very important educational factors. Children should be exposed to positive emotional stimuli concerning matters which are most important from the educational point of view. A mere dissemination of facts will remain very superficial if children are not allowed to experience the essential ethical values. The emotional experience presented in mass media entertainment are often confined to areas that are peripheral or even wholly negative form the educational pointof view. Thus mass media entertainment can function in direct contrast to educational aims. It is possible to thoroughly discuss in schools the values presented in entertainment - to analyse the emotional experiences offered and discuss the means by which excitement and interest in these products is aroused and maintained.

Mass media entertainment also often presents very superficial educational and aesthetical experiences. Since a large part of entertainment is action-oriented, events and scenes move fast. Both positive and negative human relationships are passed over with a couple of words and pictures, the significance of events in people's lives and society are not examined, emotions are presented "conspicuously" but as lacking in nuance or depth. These kind of products easily dull children's ability and aptitude for deeper aesthetical and emotional experiences, and consequently emotional life and aesthetical feeling become enervated. Studies show that at a very early age children already adopt their habits of how to use culture - how they follow and react toward cultural products and also their habits in creating culture themselves. The stimuli they receive from the mass media, and the example given them by most parents, lead children quite excessively toward light entertainment. The schools can help children to analyse mass media entertainment, to recognise it as superficial and stereotyped, and they can work to enlarge their habits in using culture.

Mass media entertainment can actually create a false and misleading picture of life, of human relationships, emotions and ethical questions. Teenagers especially consume a lot of entertainment in their process of maturation. Naive love stories can give them a completely false picture of falling in love, of human relationships, marriage,etc. Stories about war, violence and crime are favourites with teenage boys. The picture these products portray of man and masculinity, war and violence, bravery and victory, is hard and one-sided.

Advertising expected, entertainment is today almost the only mass media message which also offers action and role models. The models offered by entertainment are of very little use, however. They are too far detached from reality, they offer action models from a narrow and limited area, and from an area which is peripheral from an educational point of view - and above all, they are usually unfit to be examples. The image of man given by mass media entertainment is hard, impersonal and superficial - situations and problems do not reflect real life.

Advertising

Advertising is forcing its way into ever wider fields of mass media. In Finland television viewers are annually exposed to approximately 100 hours of advertisements. Five to twenty per cent of magazine space is given up to advertising, in newspapers the figures can run from five to forty per cent. Movie theatres start their film shows with advertisements, leaflets keep pouring through people's mailboxes, there is constant exposure to advertising on the streets and in stores. Since advertising exposure is so widespread and it is so expensive to advertise through the mass media, advertisements are made as effective as possible - distinctive and aggressive - in order to guarantee attention. Advertising is the most thoroughly researched message in all media systems. Advertisers know exactly what kind of colours are most effective in a given situation, what should be the radio of picture to text or speech, and so on. Advertisements also sell consumption, atmosphere and attitudes alongside their goods.

Advertising has also influenced other areas of mass media communications: for example advertising techniques are used in the pictorial reports and articles of magazines, and even in children's television programmes. For example, the well-known Sesame Street programme tries - by the use of powerful stimuli, a fast pace, colours, short and striking sentences and weird creatures - to capture the children's attention and while doing this it teaches children wrong viewing habits, which demand ever stronger stimuli.

Children are susceptible advertising influences. Teenagers especially want to imitate others and this fact is effectively exploited by advertising. Children believe in many of the promises they hear in advertisements. Advertising lures skillfully tempts short-spanned concentration and attention and the colourful images and striking sentences in advertisements are easy to remember. Advertising also offers clear, over-simplified and easily adopted models for action. Consequently it is necessary to examine advertising in schools - its aims, its reliability, its enticements and its view of the world. It is also important to notice and examine the efforts of advertisers to lend a materialistic value to everything.

4. THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, THE MASS MEDIA AND INFORMATIONAL INEQUALITY - SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

Improved communications and an increasing amount of information have not been able to alleviate the informational inequality which prevails in the world. The number of illiterate people is constantly increasing, and even in the industrialised western countries it is the best educated and informed people

who gain the greatest benefits from the new improved channels of information. The inequality in information and knowledge is increasing rather than decreasing.

Studies which chart the levels of knowledge attained by people have indicated that a low level of knowledge can be related to a limited education, a routine job, few or merely physical and non-intellectual leisure-time activities and to a low level of income. At the same time it has been found that a low level of knowledge often indicates informational passivity. Even available information is not being utilised for one reason or another, and thus informational inequality only deepens. The mass media have done more to aggravate informational inequality than to alleviate it. People with a low level of knowledge mostly tend to follow entertainment in the media and their use of mass media materials is often undiscriminating, while those with a higher level of knowledge tend to be more discriminating in their choice and follow more factual information. The statement "higher level of knowledge" should not be crudely equated with middle class status or the difficult and unstable term "intelligence".

Informational inequality tends to pass on from one generation to another. Parents who have limited knowledge, do routine work, and who lack intellectually stimulating activities pass on their informational passivity to their children. They are not able to offer their children stimulation and guidance to the same extent as people with access to knowledge and the groups who are able to discuss the meaning of that knowledge in political and cultural terms. Those with lower economic means are, of course, unable to offer their children the same toys, books, hobby and recreation equipment as can families in better financial circumstances. Their habits of cultural consumption are often limited and through their example they lead their children into a use of light entertainment material. Furthermore, it seems that the lightest and most superficial area of juvenile culture - comic magazines, cheap picture books, advertisements - reaches just those children whose intellectual enviroment is already disadvantageous in other respects. In poorer homes both parents often work and consequently the children have to spend a lot of the time alone or among themselves from early childhood on - the parents do not have much time for them. This of course has to be interpreted extremely carefully because

it could also account for the longer time bourgeios influences. The school, however, is particularly significant for those children whose home environment cannot offer them stimualtion which is beneficial from an educational point of view. Thus mass media education could, at least to some extent, alleviate the informational and cultural inequality in homes.

The objectives of mass media education can be summarised in three statements. These aims are also included in the general educational outline for mass media education in Finland's new comprehensive school system.

1. To train the students in the examination and interpretation of messages coming from the mass media.

   The attainment of this aim will require that:

   - the students learn to utilise the mass media for both the acquisition of information and the enjoyment of recreation.
   - the students learn critical habits for reading, listening and viewing.
   - the students learn to understand the expressions used by the different media - the nuances and aesthetic qualities of these expressions.

2. To train the students in the selective and critical reception of communicated messages.

   The attainment of this will require that:

   - the students learn to select the mass media messages they are to follow with understanding and according to their needs.
   - the students learn to check and augment the information they receive from the mass media.
   - the students learn to analyse mass media messages and their relationship to reality - the veracity of information and its interpretations - and the depth and authenticity of experiences and feelings.
   - the students learn to understand the position of mass communications in soviety and the socio-political dependence of mass media.

- the students learn to detect and distinguish the influence of the medium itself and the communicator on the message and its interpretation.
- the students learn to relate the information acquired from the mass media into their wider framework of knowledge and, with discrimination, to their view of the world.

3. To encourage the students to develop their own independent opinions about messages transmitted through the mass media and other channels of information.

The attainment of this aim will require that:

- the students learn to select the ingredients needed for the formation of their own views from among the mass media messages they receive. (These ingredients can be facts, or information about how people experience certain matters, information on various views of the world, ethical viewpoints and so on.)
- the students learn to distinguish between the facts and the interpretations of facts which form the basis of messages - to distinguish the general meaning of a mass media message and to understand what causes the differences in interpretations.
- the students learn to search for the most reliable and relevant facts to support their own opinions and learn to appreciate the role and signigicance of their own ethical thinking and their own view of the world in the formation of their opinions.
- the students learn to express their opinions and to confidently and fearlessly defend their sincere and thoughtful viewpoints.

KAARLE NORDENSTRENG:

FROM MASS MEDIA TO MASS CONSCIOUSNESS; CURRENT THINKING IN SCANDINAVIA*

In May 1973 the President of Finland, Dr. Urho Kekkonen, spoke to a UNESCO symposium on the international flow of television programs held at the University of Tampere[1]. After dealing with national and international communication policies, his address concluded with the following remarks:

> "You might ask why I have spent such a long time on communication phenomena. After all, don't economic factors determine a person's life more than communication? I should like to answer by referring to the prerequisities of democracy.
>
> Studies show that the majority of people in countries with high standards of education - Finland, for exaple - feel alienated from world problems and even from their own society. One study shows the astonishing fact that only half the respondents of voting age knew that in Finland parliament passes the laws. Wide sections of the population are lacking in the most basic social information, and do not have sufficient knowledge to form opinions about society and act as democracy would demand. People can of course learn from experience, and their opportunities to obtain information are growing all the time, but the knowledge they have does not form an organised entity. There is a shortage of information which would give them this cohesive whole and the possibility to connect matters with one another.
>
> But a democracy cannot function properly unless there is original, critical thinking among its citizens. The realisation of democracy is not possible if only dominant patterns of behaviour and the pressure of public opinion offer content to people's views of the world. In such conditions one cannot speak of the will of the people, but of the people merely echoing the message put across by a small privileged group with control of both power and the channels of influence. When this is the case, a so-called free market economy which claims to offer free choice is in no position to point an accusing finger at societies it considers totalitarian.

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*A chapter submitted in April 1974 for George Gerbner (ed.), Current trends in mass communications to be published by Mouton.

[1] The proceedings of this symposium, including Dr. Kekkonen's speech (slightly abbreviated), are published in Nordenstreng and Varis (1974), which also contains results of an international inventory of television program structure and the flow of TV programs between nations.

> The conscious channelling of future development towards democracy requires that the vast bulk of the population does not remain in the position of by-standers without initiative. By improving the lot of those in a weaker position, we equalise the opportunities for participation. By directing communication and education to the development of spontaneous thinking and the independent assumption of knowledge we make possible the search for consciousness so much desired for the future."

A careful reading of the points made here by Dr. Kekkonen in fairly general language will reveal that the text implies several significant concepts and approaches which are currently coming to the fore in the communication research being carried out in Scandinavia. This chapter aims to make these tendencies explicit by first presenting a couple of concrete examples of research projects reflecting the new approaches and then listing the central theoretical assumptions that underline the research orientation and thus constitute current thinking particularly in Finland but to an increasing extent also in the rest of Scandinavia. The final section of this chapter lists the features which may be seen to characterize a more global state of the art in the field of mass communication research; such a worldwide perspective is needed to place the particular Scandinavian phenomena in an appropriate context.

Examples of research projects: comprehension and effects of television programs, informational needs and information gaps in society

A typical feature in Finnish and Swedish broadcasting research since the late sixties has been an emphasis on comprehension: several studies have been designed to ascertain the mechanisms by which people receive information, the degrees and ways of understanding messages by viewers and listeners (Nordentreng, 1971: 261). An example of these studies is the Finnish project which included an intensive analysis of psychological reception among farmer audiences of a three-part documentary TV program on Soviet collective farming[2]. The comprehension and influence of the Finnish-produced program "A Collective Farm in Eastern Siberia" was studied jointly by the Finnish Broadcasting Company and University of Tampere, where most of the work has been carried out and reported by a young communication researcher Kauko Pietilä.[3]

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[2] A description of the programs and the research project as well as its preliminary results are provided in English in Yleisradio (1972).

[3] An important theoretical and empirical report by Pietilä (1973), presented as an adademic thesis, is only available in Finnish. Preliminary results of Pietilä's study are included in the English version of Yleisradio's report (1972).

The overall design of the study was quite conventional: a measurement of relevant knowledge and opinions before exposure and an after-exposure registration of how these were touched by the programs in question. Interesting but by no means unique was the fact that the topic of the programs was emotionally and politically loaded and that the prevailing opinions on it among the public were known (also verified by the interviews) to be most negative among practically the whole population[4]. What makes this study different from many other before-and-after exercises is the theoretical framework generated and to a certain extent also the in-depth interview technique employed.

Pietilä has articulated the theoretical framework of the study around one central concept: the world-view or Weltanschauung of the recipient[5]. As an individual acquires information the world-view functions as a system of induction governed by two antagonistic principles. On the one hand the world-view is influenced by the "pressure of objective facts", i.e. an individual's subjective world-view has an inherent tendency to correspond to the objective state of affairs around him. On the other hand there is a tendency towards "stability of world-view" as a consequence of the individual's need for coherence in his already-established belief system; as the latter has been created by the socializing institutions, this "principle of stability" is seen as an aspect of the unifying and hegemonic influence deriving from the overall social structure. Accordingly, the study was to test to what extent each of these two principles influenced the reception of a documentary which provided objective facts against hegemonically determined and largely ignorant conceptions.

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[4] A similar case study carried out in the United States has been reported by Smith (1965): American students sharing the prevailing anticommunist public opinion were confronted with Soviet overseas broadcasts.

[5] The concept of world-view was first introduced in the Finnish arena of mass communications (research) by the Program Regulations adopted for Finnish broadcasting in 1967 and defining the tasks and aims of broadcasting in terms of offering to the recipient informational building material for the construction of a personal world-view (see Nordenstreng, 1973a: 25-26). A fundamental theoretical analysis of the concept of world-view was provided by Yrjö Ahmavaara (1969), a philosopher and communication researcher who at the time was employed by the Finnish Broadcasting Company e.g. for helping to define the long-range policies of broadcasting.

An operationalization of the theoretical framework was provided by a process model of how an individual acquires information. The reception process was divided into six stages: (1) an immediate reflection of information as perceptions, (2) the development of perceptual material into images or evidence of states of affairs in the objective world, (3) the weighting of this evidence against the existing system of beliefs or induction, (4) the outcome of this weighting, i.e. judging the evidence either as irrelevant and a consequent breaking of the process or relevant and a consequent change in the cognitive structure of the world-view, (5) possible changes in the more fundamental evaluative structure of the world-view, and (6) testing of new cognitive generalizations in practice. This process model was tested with the aid of empirical data using the technique of path analysis.

The results proved that the process of receiving documentary messages did follow the model constructed among viewers who were relatively well informed about the subject to start with; an equally systematic process was not found to operate among most poorly informed viewers. Yet practically all viewers did learn something from the programs: in spite of its tendency to stability the world-view changed, i.e. new empirical evidence was accumulating upon the existing cognitive and evaluative structures, which were found to change in certain respects. The changes were by no means radical, and it was clearly indicated how the basic values of the world-view remained untouched or were even accentuated; for instance, even if Finnish farmers were convinced by the programs as to the effectivity and rationality of collective farming in the Soviet Union they absolutely rejected a generalization of this cognition to their own conditions and generated several excuses to 'prove' how collective farms were impossible in Finland, i.e. to maintain their cognitive balance.

Consequently, the programs favourable to the Soviet system of farming had no brainwash effects on the viewers. Instead, the programs increased their knowledge and understanding of the subject. The "pressure of objective facts" did have an impact on certain areas of the world-view while the "principle of stability" continued to govern others. By and large the study indicated that there is a great potential for informational communication in areas where public ignorance and prejudices prevail, that an individual is ready to adopt a new

cognitive map if his present one is proved to deviate from the objective state of affairs. On the other hand it was equally clear that an individual does not allow any changes to take place in his world-view as a consequence of only some pieces of empirical evidence: the evaluative and personality levels of the world-view are quite constant and may only change after long-term accumulation of information and its personal appilication in everyday practice. Accordingly, the study empirically confirmed that a human individual is a relatively independent factor in the process of mass communication, who is certainly influenced by the messages supplied to him but whose terms of acquiring information are determined by his previous experiences and immediate environment - and not by any omnipotent media manipulators.

It is typical of current Scandinavian thinking in communication research to expand the focus of attention beyond the media, their messages to the social and material living conditions of the people[6]. As Nordenstreng (1973 b: 35) put it in listing factors that determine the reception of adult education programs, "however good the timing policy, however dominant the channel, however close to real-life experiences the programs may be, however easy the language, and however much promotional information and even organizational mobilization may be exercised, nothing helps if a person is seriously deprived in his objective and physical surroundings, and consequently if he is psychologically so apathetic and alienated that the total motivation for improvement and change in his socio-economic situation is missing." Manifestations of this way of thinking are the projects started in the early seventies and called in Finland "citizens' informational needs" and in Sweden "information gaps in society". Both were initiated and are mainly being carried out within the broadcasting organizations, which is an indication of the social and informational commitment of these mass communication insitutions (cf. Nordenstreng, 1973 a).

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[6] First approaches in this line were some internal reports by researches of the Finnish Broadcasting Company in the late sixties, based on unsystematic observations and free in-depth interviews among some audience groups (e.g. Margaretha Starck's "experiences from a bicycle ride" and Pekka Peltola's "report beyond the villages"). These reports had by far greater impact on both program makers and researchers themselves than many major projects with representative samples and statistical elaborations.

The points of departure of the Swedish project are stated by the researchers as follows (Sveriges Radio, 1973: 1):

> " - Marked differences among social groups with respect to access to and utilization of essential information constitute a problem in our society. ('Essential' information is tentatively defined as information that enables the individual to survey and understand the the society he lives in, and allows him actively to influence the conditions of his daily life.) - These differences are primarily functions of factors outside the control of mass media, factors such as the structure of society, the social and economic status of various groups and individuals, their personal capabilities, etc. - Even so, the roles and potential roles of mass media should not be considered à priori to lack significance. Depending on how they are controlled and utilized - in terms of policy, on planning and production levels - the media may doubtless contribute either to the broadening or to the closing of information gaps."

The Finnish project on citizens' informational needs shares these points and stresses the socio-economically determined mechanisms which accumulate on the one hand material and mental wealth accompanied by informational activity and material and mental poverty accompanied by informational passivity on the other. The theoretical background report of the project[7] refers to a governmental committee on the quality of life which found that due to the accumulation process differences in the overall standard of living become greater than differences with regard to any single component of the standard of living. In analyzing mechanism of social inequality the committee had further pointed out the functions of segregation in society: minimization of contacts between the privileged and underprivileged reduces the informational and social fields of operation of both groups, leaving the privileged to enjoy their benefits with good conscience and the underprivileged to remain satisfied with their lot. It was also noted that social studies and official statistics had until recent years largely supported these same overall tendencies.

Empirical results of a nationwide survey carried out for this project further verified the presence of this vicious circle: those who were already well informed were most open to new knowledge and most capable of finding relevant

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[7] The project, which is still uncompleted, has been reported only in Finnish as a preliminary project plan (1972) and a theoretical background report (1973) by Elina Suominen in the Finnish Broadcasting Company.

knowledge, whereas the ill-informed, i.e. socio-economically underprivileged, were passive and unable to tell where to find relevant knowledge; furthermore the latter group did not regard information and knowledge as particularly important. The road towards an informational and social activization of an underprivileged person is both long and complicated, as illustrated in Figure 1 (according to Suominen, 1972: 30).

An essential theoretical distinction applied in the project is between subjective and objective informational needs. It was not found sufficient just to carry out an opinion survey and register subjectively perceived informational needs and wishes; besides these it was necessary to construct an allround picture of the respondent's objective living conditions and his possibilities for social action. The aim was to see an individual's informational behavior (subjective needs) as an integral part of his total living conditions and social environment (objective needs). Expressed in these terms it is evident that objective informational needs are least satisfied among the underprivileged sections of the population and that the greatest difference between the subjective and objective levels of informational need is to be found in the same groups which are left outside the positive accumulation of material and informational wealth in society. The 'haves' do not objectively have many informational needs unsatisfied and yet they subjectively have more informational hunger than the 'have-nots', whose objective informational needs are burning.

Besides social segregation referred to above the socio-economic system is seen to employ various mechanisms which tend to keep the level of subjective informational needs low. One central concept in this connection is the (bourgeois) hegemony which may be understood as a filter extending to the personal world-view of an individual and biasing or blocking his process of perceiving reality. The de facto function of the bulk of mass media is taken to be an overall support of this hegemony, e.g. by means of a long-term indoctrination of certain implicit values and a fragmentation of message supply which prevents rather than helps an individual to construct a holistic view of objective reality.

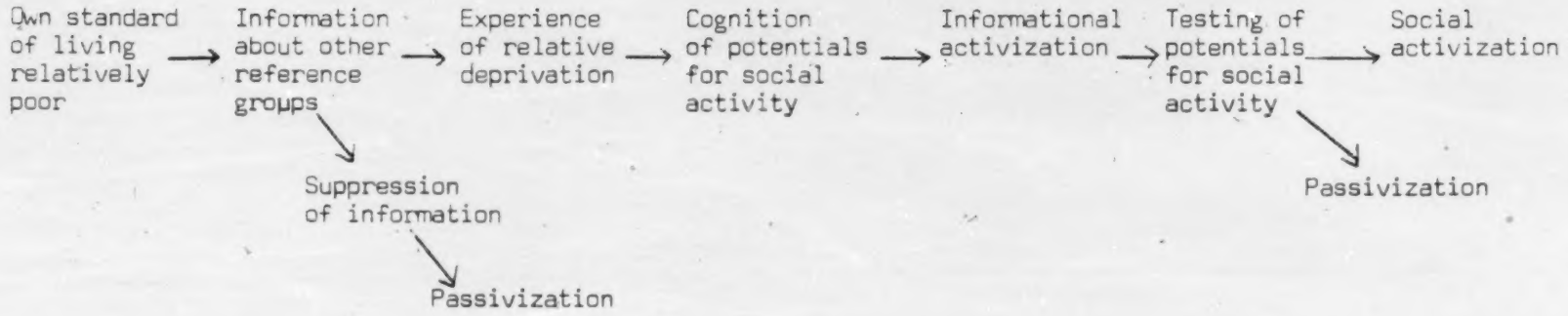

Figure 1. The process of activization of a relatively underprivileged person.

This project - as well as the corresponding Swedish one - might equally well be classified as an exercise in political science or as a piece of communication research: the problem is to study the actual and potential conditions for social equality and participatory democracy[8]. In fact it is a typical feature of current thinking in Scandinavia to avoid a narrow communicologist's point of view and instead take a fairly broad perspective with a wide range of socio-economic (objective) factors to interplay with (subjective) communication phenomena. And it is furthermore characteristic of the present orientation that the behavior of receiver is seen to be determined rather by the material and social conditions of his overall life situation than by the messages of mass communication.

It may be said that such an approach is no innovation in the tradition of communication research. However, a close look will probably reveal that the theoretical framework used in these studies differs from those applied in earlier research into the same problems. The social factors employed go far beyond the primary group considerations which used to dominate earlier receiver studies; now it is the economic structure of society - the total system - that is taken as the point of departure, instead of some more or less loosely defined groups in society. An increased concern about the receiver's conditions is also far removed from the earlier uses-and-gratifications approach; the new orientation has raised the world-view as the central theoretical concept and it is not limited to operating at the subjective level but explicitly takes into account also the objective material factors determining the behavior of an individual.

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[8] There is a project sponsored by the Academy of Finland and led by Juha Partanen which is generally investigating the conditions of democracy in Finland (called "Tandem"), including the communication component.

Central theoretical assumptions

The essentials of the kind of thinking exemplified above may be condensed into four categories of conceptual elements involved and two basic theoretical propositions implicit in it. These are briefly outlined below in order to give an analytical account of the current approaches. Naturally these features are not manifest throughout current research, and some of them may not even be implicit in many studies. Furthermore, it should be recalled that there is lot of research going on in Scandinavia which does not follow this kind of thinking at all but rather continues to represent the more traditional concepts and theoretical assumptions[9].

The first category of conceptual elements characteristic of current thinking is related to the concept of consciousness. A derivative of this is the concept of world-view which was found to be central in comprehension studies. As is well known, the concept of consciousness has a long philosophical tradition, including the famous Cartesian reasoning: "Cogito, ergo sum!" However, due to the dominant positivist tradition and the consequent behavioral approach such "mentalistic" concepts have not enjoyed a legitimized status in Anglo-Saxon communicology any more than in the western social sciences in general. Consequently it may be said that the reintroduction of consciousness implies a kind of 'humanization' of the mechanical view of man offered by the behavioral-positivist tradition.

While the concept of consciousness refers to an individual, the second category on conceptual elements has a social dimension: the terms ideology, hegemony, manipulation, etc. raise the perspective above the individual consciousness (micro level) to more general cultural phenomena of clearly supraindividual character (macro level). What is involved here is reference on the one

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[9] As elsewhere also in Scandinavia a battle between scientific camps, not unrelated to politics within the countries, is a well known phenomena. The field of communication research has so far enjoyed a relatively peaceful time in this respect, particularly outside Finland where all kinds of social conflicts tend to become more prominent than in the rest of Scandinavia. These problems of power relations between the current thinking described here and all other orientations have been left completely outside the scope of this chapter.

hand to the social institutions - often called after Louis Althusser the "ideological apparatuses" - which produce and distribute information in society, and on the other to a kind of collective consciousness composed of a number of relatively similar units of individual consciousness. The latter is also called "mass consciousness" - a term indicating both the social and the human aspects involved.

Accordingly, the title of this chapter is intended to point out how the perspective of mass communication research in Scandinavia is changing from a narrow and 'mechanistic' approach very much centered around the media (as separated from society) to a wider and 'humanistic' approach with the media as no more than integral parts of an overall ideological machinery in society. And it is usually understood that this machinery, which is an integrated function of all social and cultural institutions with potential effects on peoples' consciousness, has a hegemonistic character, i.e. it impinges upon the individual consciousness such elements which would not spontaneously prevail there but which will also not be rejected by consciousness as they are so commonly shared by the cultural community[10]. Thus the term "mass consciousness" is seen not only as a sum or average of a number of individual pieces of consciousness but also as a social phenomenon relatively independent of individuals (in the way described by Dr. Kekkonen above).

The third category of conceptual elements - clearly to be seen e.g. in the informational needs project - refers to the material conditions of the individual. These are seen critically to determine the individual consciousness, which is thus not understood as a loose intuition but rather as an internal correlate of the material circumstances encountered by the individual, i.e. a subjective reflection of an objective state of affairs. The term "social

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10 The term "indoctrination" has been suggested e.g. by Hemánus (1973) to denote an influence of the media which a recipient is not (by definition) conscious about, while "propaganda" would be a term for such influence taking place with the recipient being conscious about attempts at influence.

position", which is also used in this connection, implies that an individual has a certain location within the material world and the social relations concretely operating in it. In brief, there is an objective reality seen to extend beyond the individual consciousness.

Consequently, besides being 'humanistic' in its approach the current thinking is at the same time materialistic: it does not elevate the concept of consciousness to such a dominating position that the whole conceptual machinery would be composed of immaterial psychic and social elements. On the contrary, even consciousness itself is understood to be composed of material processes, although most complicated[11]. Like behaviorism this mode of thought only approves the existence of biologically determined human phenomena, including a purely materialistic process of communication between individuals, but unlike behaviorism it does accept the reality of an individual consciousness 'inside the black box', including spontaneous thought process. Yet it may not be correct to call this approach "mentalistic" since in many cases the latter term is used to refer to the opposite of materialistic approaches, which is certainly not the case here.

The fourth central category involved continues to list materialistic elements, but instead of concepts relating to the individual it is now a matter of broader socio-economic structures which may be seen to constitute a material correlate to the concepts of social consciousness (the second category above). These structures are composed of the material arrangements of production in society, i.e. the productive forces and the relations of production, with the corresponding social and economic institutions determining relations between individuals (e.g. ownership conditions). The nature of these structures is materialistic, although in practice they may mostly operate by means or symbolic (and in that sense immaterial) communication.

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[11] According to materialistic philosophy human consciousness is the property of a highly differentiated material. - An example of a materialistic model of consciousness constructed in the tradition of behaviorism is provided in Nordenstreng (1969: 26-27).

Consequently, social relations between men are not understood as a communication network operating at the level of consciousness; they are seen to be based on material conditions determining a person's location in the physical reality (mainly process of production). This eliminates, among other things, a conceptual confusion of power relations with the relations of communication - so popular in the dominant western thinking, which tends to reduce the objective power antagonisms to plain linguistic complications (e.g. references to "semantic noise" in industrial relations as an excuse not to further real industrial democracy)[12]. Similarly, the current view does not see political democracy in a typical western manner as an optimally operating democratic system, since in practice it does not extend to the economic power relations imposed by ownership conditions. In fact, political democracy is understood mainly as a phenomenon to be placed at the ideological level: politics is being played usually in the consciousness of the masses and only exceptionally - in revolutionary situations - in the real power relations of society[13].

By and large, not only are material conditions introduced besides phenomena of individual and mass consciousness but they are taken as primary factors in explaining individual and social behavior. And yet the approach purports to avoid mechanistical materialism, since the concepts of individual consciousness and social ideology expand the theoretical framework far beyond what is offered e.g. by the conventional behavioristic approach.

Naturally the various concepts listed above are closely interrelated, so that what is essential is not the individual conceptual elements involved but the overall theoretical framework or approach provided jointly by them. It is not difficult to see how such an overall thinking is perfectly compatible

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[12] Several western communication researchers (e.g. Colin Cherry) have such an outlook on social relations as revealed by Jung et al. (1970).

[13] The relations of socio-politico-economic power with information and communication phenomena have been studied in Sweden particularly by Cheesman and Hvitfelt (1972) and Ekecrantz (1973). The latter has e.g. introduced the concept of "planned ignorance".

with many modern conceptions of western communication research, including the idea of media as an integral part of the social system (cf. "institutional process analysis" represented often e.g. by George Gerbner and the new conception of the effects of communications as a long term and often covertly indoctrinating influence (cf. Gerbner's "cultivation analysis"). In fact these kinds of 'new look', including a view of the mass media as dependent rather than independent variable, are no difficult lessons for current Scandinavian thinking since they already are essential and natural features of it (cf. V. Pietilä, 1973).

The above characterization of the emerging Scandinavian thinking may be further condensed into two basic theoretical propositions: a theory of knowledge and a theory of society. The former starts with the fundamental distinction between objective reality and subjective consciousness and states (1) that subjective consciousness is a reflection of objective reality and (2) that an individual bearing this consciousness is intecract with objective reality through practice[14]. The latter theoretical proposition places economic production as the primary determinant of social relations between individuals; this theory of society may also be seen to include a historical dimension with consecutive stages of forms production and the corresponding social structures (cf. Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973: 395-398). The two theories are illustrated in Figure 2.

It is evident that the theoretical assumptions in the kind of thinking described here are essentially based on the theory of dialectical materialism. To what extent the current Scandinavian thinking actually represents Marxism-

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[14] A description of such a dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is to be found e.g. in Mao Tse-Tung's essay on "Where do correct ideas come from?" (1966:134-144):
"At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i.e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness, from existence to ideas... Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world."
For a more comprehensive presentation, see Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy (1974).

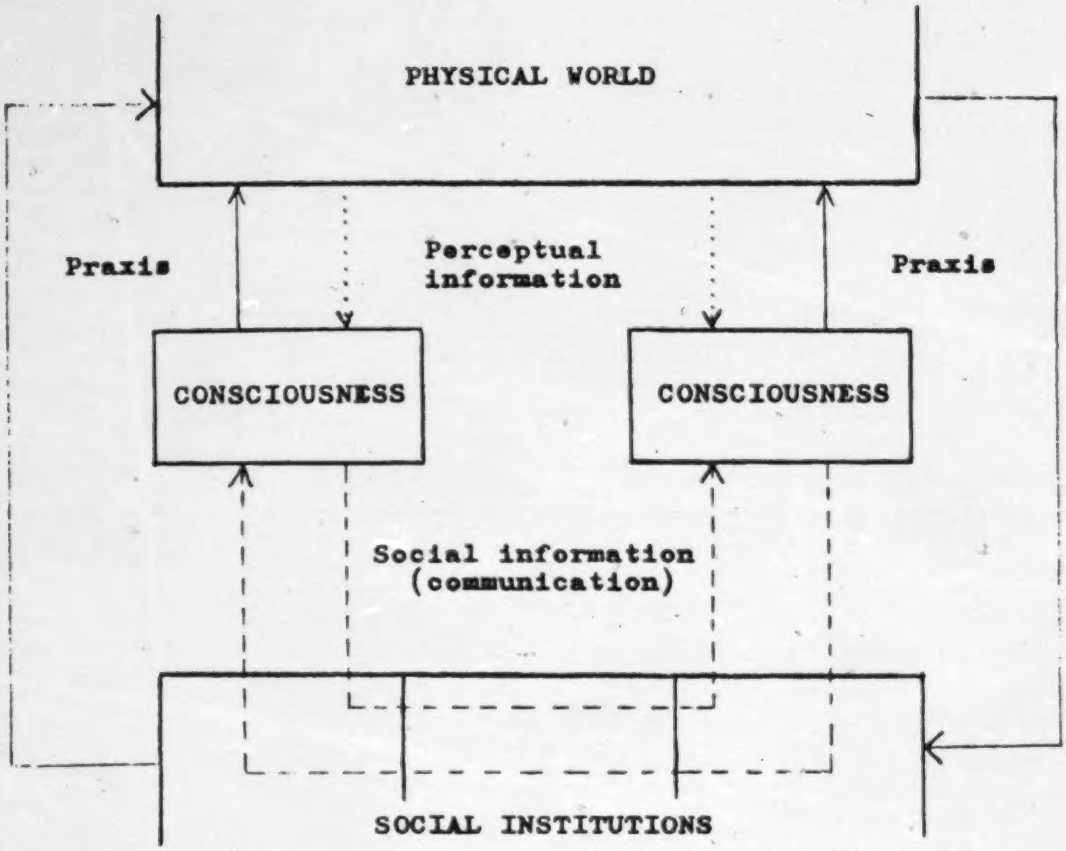

Figure 2. Human informational activities within the framework of basic theoretical propositions: the acquisition of knowledge from the physical world (perceptual information - vertical) accompanied by related physical interaction with the objective reality (praxis), and the exchange of experiences between units of individual consciousness (social information or communication proper - horizontal). Objective reality = physical world + social institutions.

Leninism is a difficult question, since individual researches - even if they may operate within a common overall framework - usually have different variations in their approaches. Besides, one should here keep in mind that the numerical majority of different "Scandinavian approaches" still represents the behavioristic western tradition.

Furthermore, there is ground for doubts concerning even the theoretical possibility of generating a Marxist tradition of research in a capitalist society and its institutionally bourgeois climate; the latter may be seen to eliminate objectively all significant social influence of revolutionary science no matter how serious the individual (Marxist) researchers might subjectively be. Consequently it should simply be said that the Scandinavian thinking referred to in this chapter is dialectico-materialistically oriented.

Global trends in communication research

What has been presented above on Scandinavian thinking is not unrelated to what is happening on the wider world scene. The present author would even like to suggest that the reorientation taking place in the field of mass communication research more or less everywhere in the western (i.e. capitalist) world is characterized by precisely the same tendencies as the current Scandinavian thinking. Significant global tendencies may indeed become more visible in Scandinavian circumstances, which provide a kind of laboratory situation purified from any single dominant cultural tradition and world-political power commitment, for social developments of advanced capitalism to appear. Consequently, the difference between Scandinavia and the rest of the western world may be seen as a matter of degree rather than of quality. Therefore the global trends reviewed below[15] may be understood as a 'mild version' of Scandinavian thinking.

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[15] The following paragraphs are based on a paper "Normative directions for mass communication research", presented at the first Nordic conference of mass communication research in Oslo, June 1973.

The global trends in the field of mass communication research can be expressed in terms of two interrelated tendencies on change: (1) a tendency towards a more holistic framework, and (2) a tendency towards policy orientation. The holistic approach, for its part, may be seen to imply two subaspects, namely, (a) a stressing of the processual approach covering simultaneously various stages of the communication process, and, (b) a stressing of the contextual approach tying the particular communication phenomena into wider socio-politico-economic settings.

It is not difficult to trace in these tendencies a rebellion against the positivist-behaviorist tradition. In terms of the philosophy of science it is exactly this shift from positivism towards anti-positivism that may be seen as crucial in the present reorientation of communication research - as well as in the so-called crisis of western social sciences in general.

In the present context it is particularly important to note the implications of positivism for policy considerations. The crucial notion of positivism - called in philosophical debate the "Humean guillotine" - argues that one cannot infer from 'how things are' 'how they should be'. Goals of social activity are understood as something voluntary and subjective; value-bound choices are placed by definition outside the scope of objective knowledge. Consequently, research and politics are sharply separated from each other, and there prevails a relativism of values. Anti-positivism, for its part, claims that a study of the objective laws of social processes, in their widest sense, can be derived from social goals grounded on objective facts. This social goal - the 'how things should be' - can be inferred, at least to a great extent, from the laws followed by goal-directed social processes, once the latter have been discovered. Consequently, research and politics cannot and should not be sharply separated. As Ahmavaara (1971: 14) puts it, research into social laws and political decision-making processes "are parts of a unified organism simply violently separated from each other by the Humean guillotine".

At this point one might ask why such a reorientation in the social sciences in general and mass communication research in particular has begun to take place. What are the cultural and social determinants behind this 'movement'? In the present analysis only one overall factor will be singled out which, however, seems to the present author to be of crucial importance (in analysis

of the situation it alone certainly accounts for over 50 per cent of the 'total explanation').

The suggested significant factor is the historical development in western industrialised societies, in consequence of which ideological control over the mass consciousness has become increasingly difficult - and hence ever more vital for the socio-economic system to handle. In spite of the indoctrination influencing individuals through all established institutions in society - not least by the mechanism of fragmentation in education and mass communication - large segments of the population remain dissatisfied, and what is also significant, new elements such as students have become involved in this refusal to digest what is centrally fed to them through socializing institutions, including the mass media. This is not a proper context to discuss the reasons for this surveillance of spontaneity and protest amid the manipulative mechanism of society (including the falsification of the theory of 'repressive tolerance'); it suffices here to note that there is something in the concrete social reality which 'breaks through' all manipulation.

Accordingly, since the traditional methods of ideological control have proved inadequate one has been urged forward to search for more effective means to touch the minds of the masses. This is why so much is said today of "comprehension of messages", "audience passivity", etc.; these kinds of new looks into the mass communication process (including the activists of "citizen participation") is a must for the established social order if it is going to maintain in the long run its mental and material control over the bulk of the population. Similarly, at the level of the social sciences it has been an objective need of social forces to turn the positivistic tradition into a more holistic approach. It was no longer sufficient to contribute to the manipulative mechanisms by piecemeal studies and theories which by-pass many significant features in social developments, particularly those generating dissonence and revolutionary potential.

By and large it simply became vitally important to assess the social reality, including the process of mass communication, more truthfully and in a macro perspective. And this assessment was not to be made for academic convenience but for an emerging, socially determined concern for communication policies[16]. As is well known, systematic policies and long-range planning are another vital response to the objective development of the socio-economic system ("state-monopoly capitalism"). Consequently, a need for policies and planning in the communication field of society derives not only from the motives for ideological control but also from a general tendency towards more coherent socio-economic processes.

In terms of the present analysis, then, the new approach in communication research is no more of a happy chance than boosting interest in communication policies is a social luxury. Both can be seen to reflect the same basic tendency of having the mechanism of the prevailing social order brought up-to-date, and thus supporting the basic tendencies of the status quo. Accordingly, a "progressive" communication researcher finds himself in a paradoxical situation.

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[16] For the concept of communication policies, see e.g. Unesco (1972) and Pool (1974).

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